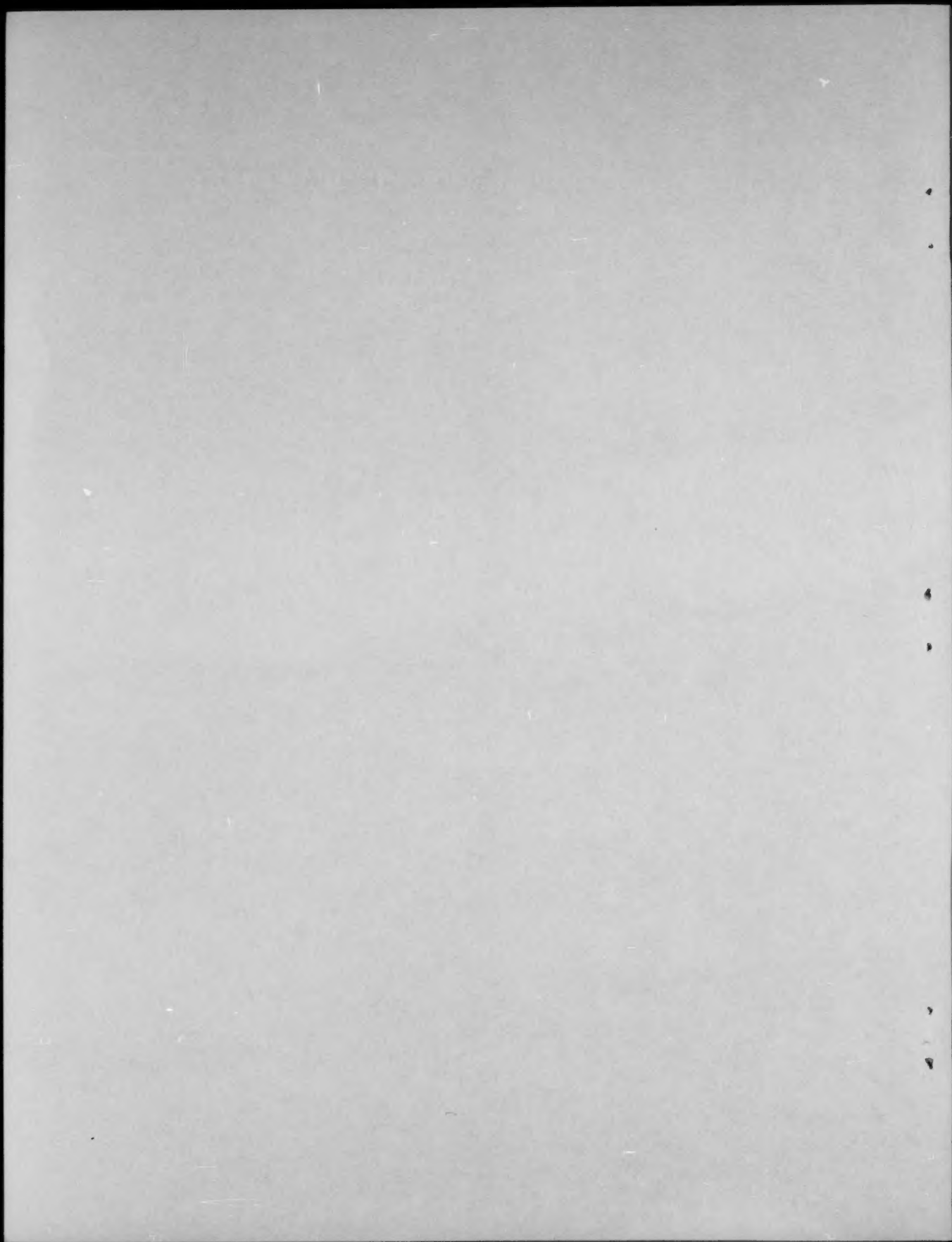


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## FOREWORD

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In recent years there has been an increasing interest in the literary production of Spanish America. Mexico, much visited by tourists, has also been attracting a great deal of attention because of her list of noteworthy writers.

In view of this trend, one section of the Seventh University of Kentucky Foreign Language Conference (1954) was devoted exclusively to papers on different aspects of the Mexican literary scene.



Conversando con Enrique González Martínez (Entrevista Inédita)

by Edin Brenes, Purdue University

En los áureos días del Modernismo, cuando ya Rubén Darío había publicado sus Cantos de vida y esperanza, iniciaba su obra poética Enrique González Martínez en Mazatlán y Mocorito, de donde había de venir a la ciudad de México en 1911.\* Ya había aparecido ese año su libro Los senderos ocultos, obra esencialmente modernista, como se puede apreciar en los versos:

Besado por el soplo de la brisa,  
el estanque cercano se divisa...  
bañándose en las ondas hay un astro;  
un cisne alarga el cuello lentamente  
como blanca serpiente  
que saliera de un huevo de alabastro.

Modernista hasta en los cisnes, los estanques, y los astros, González Martínez en sus primeros libros, Preludios, 1903, y Lirismos, sigue indudablemente la corriente de Gutiérrez Nájera y Darío. En Silenter, 1908, y Los senderos ocultos, 1911, el poeta abandona, hasta cierto punto, la retórica formal del Modernismo para buscar nuevas formas de expresar su sensibilidad poética. Piensa más, medita más, y nos dice su deseo de ver más allá de la superficie de las cosas y de encontrar un sentido oculto en ellas:

Busca en todas las cosas un alma y un sentido  
oculto; no te ciñas a la apariencia vana;  
husmea, sigue el rastro de la verdad arcana,  
escudriñante el ojo y aguzado el oído.<sup>1</sup>

Más tarde escribió La muerte del cisne, 1915, libro en que el poeta mexicano nos exhorta a vivir una vida intensa, como lo fue su vida misma, y en el que nos recuerda a su contemporáneo Amado Nervo, con sus finos sentimientos y su misticismo. Y González Martínez se pregunta si su obra poética es permanente o pasajera no más, y si los poetas del mañana cantarán una nueva canción:

Mañana los poetas cantarán en divino  
verso que no logramos entonar los de hoy;  
nuevas constelaciones darán otro destino  
a sus almas inquietas con un nuevo temblor.

\* \* \*

Y todo será inútil, y todo será en vano;  
será el afán de siempre y el idéntico arcano  
y la misma tiniebla dentro del corazón.

---

\* A recording of the speech of González Martínez was made possible by a grant of the Purdue Research Foundation, G. S. Meikle, Director.

Otros de sus libros fueron, La hora inútil, 1916; El libro de la fuerza, de la bondad y del ensueño, 1917; El romero alucinado, 1923; y Poesía, 1938-40, una selección de sus mejores versos hecha y corregida por el poeta mismo.

Pero de todas sus poesías, es el soneto "Tuércele el cuello al cisne" lo que más se recuerda de González Martínez. Se ha dicho que este soneto fué el "golpe de gracia al cisne y a todo lo que éste simbolizaba."<sup>2</sup> Y Torres-Río seco, refiriéndose a éste, escribe: "Porque fué contra los 'pájaros olímpicos' de Darío que González Martínez desahogó todo su desdén en su famoso soneto 'Tuércele el cuello al cisne' que puso fin a la pompa heráldica del modernismo."<sup>3</sup>

En este soneto González Martínez expresa una reacción contra el movimiento modernista que estaba entonces en su apogeo. Sobre esto nos dice Luis Alberto Sánchez: "Hay una composición del poeta mexicano, clásica ya en la literatura castellana, que define esta actitud crítica frente al desborde sonoro de la escuela rubendaríaca."<sup>4</sup>

El soneto dice así:

Tuércele el cuello al cisne de engañoso plumaje  
que da su nota blanca al azul de la fuente;  
él pasea su gracia no más, pero no siente  
el alma de las cosas ni la voz del paisaje.

Huye de toda forma y de todo lenguaje  
que no vayan acordes con el ritmo latente  
de la vida profunda...y adora intensamente  
la vida, y que la vida comprenda tu homenaje.

Mira al sapiente buho cómo tiende las alas  
desde el Olimpo, deja el regazo de Palas  
y posa en aquel árbol su vuelo taciturno...

El no tiene la gracia del cisne, mas su inquieta  
pupila que se clava en la sombra, interpreta  
el misterioso libro del silencio nocturno.<sup>5</sup>

No cesa González Martínez de ser simbolista: al símbolo del cisne--"la gracia del cisne"--antepone otro pájaro, otro símbolo--"el sapiente buho"--que escudriñando las tinieblas nos resuelve el misterioso problema de la vida. "Prácticamente, --dice Luis Alberto Sánchez--con este soneto, quedó dividida la sensibilidad americana entre buhos y cisnes, es decir, entre neorrománticos o neosimbolistas, y modernistas: aquéllos, meditativos, parcos: éstos, cargados de melodía, como establecían los cánones de 'Prosas Profanas.'<sup>6</sup>

II

En 1949, tres años antes de la muerte de González Martínez, tuve la fortuna de conversar con él, en su quinta, en una de las colonias residenciales de la ciudad de México. Ya yo había leído en mi juventud Los senderos ocultos y La muerte del cisne, y conocía bien el famoso soneto.

Con ocasión de mi visita, el poeta me lo recitó, y al preguntarle yo por qué lo había escrito, me respondió:

-- Estaba cansado de los cisnes. Sí, del modernismo aparatoso y decorativo. Después lo quisieron tomar como un ataque a Darío, cosa que en la vida pensé. Porque Darío no era eso. Eso eran los imitadores de Darío, y contra ellos, contra el modernismo ese, fofo y decorativo, era ese soneto. Pero fué una cosa circunstancial. Yo no lo tomé como una especie de regla estética.

Esas fueron las palabras textuales de González Martínez explicando la razón de ser de su famoso soneto. Luego, conversamos de cosas del lenguaje y de hombres de letras. De Rafael Heliodoro Valle, me dijo:

-- Heliodoro Valle es casi mexicano. Ha vivido aquí muchísimos años, y aunque no ha perdido su nacionalidad -- él es hondureño -- toda su vida la ha hecho aquí. Yo conocí a Heliodoro el año de once, que vino aquí. Yo vine a radicarme en México ese mismo año; había estado yo aquí antes, pero me vine a radicar definitivamente el año de once. Y entonces conocí a ese muchacho, que era muy joven, de manera que entonces tendría unos veinte años. El nació por el 91, tiene pues unos cincuenta y ocho años... y representa muy bien a su país. Es un hombre estudioso, inteligente, y buen poeta. Tiene grandes cualidades, además es muy simpático. De manera que yo estoy contento de que él esté allá. Aquí vino y nos trajo un mensaje de la Academia Hondureña para la Academia Mexicana de la Lengua... y después se fué para Wáshington.

Como usted sabe, a las repúblicas latinoamericanas, por regla general, les gusta mandar a todo el mundo, sobre todo a los países de habla española, gente de letras.

-- ¿Como a Nervo? le pregunté yo.

-- Sí, a Nervo, sí. Yo mismo estuve ocho años en España de ministro. Estuve en la Argentina dos años y medio. Estuve en Chile dos años. Portugal... El año 31 vine ya a México de nuevo. Estuvo allá en España Francisco A. de Icaza...

-- Alfonso Reyes estuvo en España también, ¿no es verdad?

-- Alfonso no fué ministro; en España estuvo como secretario. Luego pasó a Francia de ministro. En España también estuvo don Justo Sierra.

-- ¿Y Vasconcelos?

-- Vasconcelos no ha sido diplomático. El estuvo metido activamente en la política. Tuvo desilusiones como todos los hombres que se meten en política, y ha vivido fuera del país. Ahora está con nosotros aquí; un poco cambiado de ideas y de contextura espiritual, pero está con nosotros.

-- Un poquito más conservador...

-- ¡Ya lo creo! Con la misma vehemencia que fué el hombre de la izquierda, es ahora de la derecha. Con lo cual se han desconcertado muchas gentes que lo conocían desde aquel otro punto de vista. Acá, en la América del Sur... estuvo Alfonso Reyes, en Brasil. En la Argentina estuvo Alfonso también. Y otro poeta joven está en Panamá; no me acuerdo de él.

-- ¿Julio Torri?

-- No, Julio no ha estado en la diplomacia... Cuando yo llegué el año once a México, existía un grupo que se llamaba el Ateneo de la Juventud. Le han quitado eso de la juventud, porque todos comprendieron que eso de la juventud a los tres o cuatro años iba a acabarse, verdad. Entonces, cuando yo llegué de la provincia y decidí radicarme en México, me recibieron muy bien, y yo al año siguiente fui presidente del Ateneo. Pero yo ya no era joven, tenía yo cuarenta años, de manera que estaba yo entre todos aquellos jóvenes...y sobre esos jóvenes ejercía mucha influencia Pedro Henríquez Ureña.

Henríquez Ureña dejó dos libros inéditos: uno sobre literatura mexicana, y otro sobre literatura hispanoamericana. Que son, pues...una cosa sintética, pero muy precisa, como todas las cosas que él hacía, muy concienzudamente hecha. Acaba de salir publicada en una colección que se llama "Tierra Firme." El libro es Las corrientes literarias de Hispanoamérica, escrito todo con un espíritu crítico muy despierto y muy inteligente. Muy claro...así era Henríquez. Fue un gran maestro, y tuvo mucha influencia sobre ciertos escritores mexicanos del Ateneo. Alfonso Reyes, Acevedo, Vasconcelos... Y en esos tiempos todos esos muchachos eran de veinte y tantos años, casi todos ellos. Yo soy de los viejos, y Vasconcelos y su grupo son de los jóvenes.

-- Bueno, Vasconcelos era joven en ese tiempo...

-- Joven, sí... Ahora no es joven, pero tampoco es demasiado viejo, mucho menor que yo. Yo cumplí hace poco 78 años...



-- Y se ve muy bien... ¿La buena vida? le dije yo.

-- ¡Qué buena vida! La vida intensa. Yo siempre he tenido una vida muy activa. Ya me falta poco para los ochenta. Pero si a mi edad los años no se cuentan, se cuentan las semanas y los meses. Porque si la vida es incierta en la juventud, lo es mucho más a mi edad.

\* \* \*

Enrique González Martínez vivió tres años aún, murió en la ciudad de México en febrero de 1952. Murió como había vivido: trabajando hasta los últimos días, viviendo la vida digna, intensa y activa de la que nos había hablado, en aquella visita, en una mañana fría y brillante del mes de septiembre en la ciudad de México.

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1. Los senderos ocultos, 1911.
  2. Alfred Coester, An Anthology of the Modernista Movement in Spanish America. New York, 1924, page 308. (Traducción)
  3. Arturo Torres-Rioseco, The Epic of Latin American Literature. New York, 1942, page 111. (Traducción)
  4. Luis Alberto Sánchez, Nueva Historia de la Literatura Americana. Asunción, Paraguay, s.f., page 407.
  5. Los senderos ocultos, 1911.
  6. Luis Alberto Sánchez, Nueva Historia de la Literatura Americana. Asunción, Paraguay, s.f., page 407.

## The Short Story in Mexico

by Walter M. Langford, University of Notre Dame

Nowhere else in Hispanic America has the short story reached the degree of development and popularity which it has achieved in Mexico. In this genre Mexico, in comparison with her sister nations below the Rio Grande, can point to a higher over-all level of excellence, a greater abundance of cuentistas and accordingly of cuentos, and at least an equal amount of originality and typical characteristics.

There are reasons why this is so. Mexico enjoyed among Spain's New World colonies a favored position challenged only by Peru. This meant that in matters of culture, as in all others, these two colonies outstripped the rest, and this headstart, though modest, was not unimportant. During the second half of the nineteenth century, when the short story as a separate literary form seemed to come of age almost everywhere, a good number of Mexican writers took up the cuento with such success, it is quite safe to say, that by 1900 this form was much more fully developed than the novel in Mexico.

It is said that the short story, by its nature and flexibility, serves particularly well to reflect the times; the people and the land, the customs and the doings of a country. Given two countries with writers of similar merit, the one which in itself provides the stronger stimulus and inspiration should normally produce more and probably better short stories. This seems to be the case with Mexico. The political and social upheaval known as the Mexican Revolution of 1910 supplied untold impetus to literature in that country—and indeed to other cultural forms as well. No other Hispanic American state has come up with so spectacular a source of literary inspiration, so that the Revolution becomes possibly the most important ingredient in the Mexican supremacy in the field of the cuento.

The Mexican short story, in tune with the local reality, has been beamed insistently since 1910 toward native scenes and themes. In so doing it has acquired certain costumbrista and regional traits. Yet it is not one-sided, for there is no lack of stories of urban life. There are, in fact, abundant examples of many types of cuentos. Some of them feature deftly developed plots, while others are purely episodic. A few are marked by the psychological handling of a character or situation. There are stories based on folktales, and occasionally there will appear one with singular poetic qualities. Some stories are clever (though rarely sophisticated) and humor is far from uncommon. Above all, there are stories of the Revolution, of war with all its consequences to combatants and civilians alike.

It is to be expected, then, that humor yields more often than not to the sombre note, the tragic overtone. This is quite natural, since the cuento is mirroring life in Mexico and so must



be concerned mostly with the masses in their struggle for something better. Thus, the stories deal with the hopes, activities, sufferings, and occasional triumphs of the simple people, and with their basic problems of life having to do with economics, class, race, health, and survival.

From what was said earlier, it must be obvious that the dividing line between the older and the newer generations of cuentistas in Mexico is the year 1910, with the beginning of the Revolutionary period. That date truly turned the short story upon a new course. Until then nearly all Mexican literature, including the short story, had followed a stereotyped pattern limited pretty closely to European forms, models, and movements. True, there were some works based on native themes and placed in native settings, but these few tentative efforts for the most part did not plunge into Mexican life completely, observantly, and realistically.

The impact of the Revolution changed all of that. The Mexican people and their problems became the dominant theme. Local color permeated almost all of the short story production, which also was expressed in many instances in the slangy, unlettered speech of the common people. This literary revolution swept Mexico as surely as did the political upheaval. Revolutionary themes (mostly war and social problems) had become the rage by the early 1920's and have retained their popularity since on a broadening base of social consciousness. Perhaps a parallel of sorts can be found between this fondness for writing about or around the Revolution in Mexico and the enduring popularity of Civil War themes in our own American literature.

It would appear, in any case, that a good parallel exists in the swift veering after 1910 toward the truly typical and realistic in Mexican life and the change-over to local color stories in American literature during the last third of the nineteenth century. The following summation by Bret Harte of this evolution of the story in our country seems to fit equally well the case of the Mexican short story after 1910:

It would seem evident, therefore, that the secret of the American short story was the treatment of characteristic American life, with absolute knowledge of its peculiarities and sympathy with its methods; with no fastidious ignoring of its habitual expression, or the inchoate poetry that may be found even hidden in its slang; with no moral determination except that which may be the legitimate outcome of the story itself; with no more elimination than may be necessary for the artistic conception, and never from the fear of the "fetish" of conventionalism. Of such is the American short story of today.<sup>1</sup>

If it should be asked why there was a lag of some half a century in Mexico in the rise and eventual evolution of the short story, it can be pointed out simply that the pull of inherited literary tradition was even much stronger in Mexico than in this country. This can be seen in the tardiness with which new literary movements (romanticism, for example) have been accepted and embraced in Mexico.

- - - - -

It is customary to say that the initiators of the cuento in Mexico were José María Roa Bárcena (1827-1908) and Vicente Riva Palacio (1832-1896), though clearly they were not the first to write the short story in that land. Both of them wrote well and were adept at devising plots and building up to the climax of their tales. A good example of the work of Roa Bárcena is "Lanchitas," a sort of mystery story with supernatural aspects, somewhat lacking in conciseness yet well conceived and expressed. Most of Riva Palacio's short stories are found in one volume, Cuentos del General, a collection of genial tales delightfully told. Outstanding among them are "Las mulas de Su Excelencia," (which shows the influence of the great Peruvian "tradicionalista" Ricardo Palma), "Un Stradivarius" (built around an age-old confidence racket), and "El buen ejemplo" (a charming little story of the anecdotal type set in the southern Mexican jungle).

With the works of José López-Portillo y Rojas (1850-1923) and Rafael Delgado (1853-1914) the Mexican cuento begins to take on more realism, more personality, and greater attention to the local setting. López-Portillo treats of the region of Jalisco, while Delgado deals with the coastal area of Veracruz. Perhaps the best story of the former is "El billete de lotería," which is a slightly loose-jointed narrative of strife between relatives and shows a strong fatalistic tinge. Delgado is best remembered for "El desertor," in which the supposed deserter who is sheltered by a widow on her hacienda turns out to be one of the brutal murderers of her husband. Her spirit of Christian forgiveness ends this story on a nobler note than that of "El billete de lotería."

Practically all of the literary figures of prominence in the latter half of nineteenth-century Mexico turned their hand to the short story at least occasionally. Included among these are Guillermo Prieto (1818-1897), Justo Sierra (1848-1912), Ignacio Manuel Altamirano (1834-1893), Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera (1859-1895) with his "Historia de un peso falso," and Manuel Payno (1810-1894). "Una esperanza," by Amado Nervo (1870-1919) is probably the best of his numerous short stories and may almost be classified as a cuento revolucionario.

After 1910 the Mexican short story takes on a new motivation, a different technique, a preoccupation with the Revolution and the masses which it proposed to benefit. Again,

almost every name of literary importance in this century appears in the list of story-tellers. It is true that greater renown has been achieved by the novelists of the Mexican revolution than by the cuentistas, though it is more than doubtful that these novels as novels are equal in conception and execution to the stories as stories. Prior to 1910 the novel in Mexico merited scant praise, so that the Revolution can be said to have made the novel in that country. The cuento, on the other hand, was almost fully developed by the end of the past century, and with the Revolution it received new vigor, orientation, and expression.

It is perhaps a weakness of literary history and criticism, derived no doubt from the fact that the novel was known and cultivated as a literary form long before the short story, that novelists customarily receive vastly more attention than short story writers. At any rate, it appears quite true to state that in the body of literature precipitated by the Mexican Revolution the cuentos as a whole surpass the novels in development and technique. A substantial number of the novels actually fail to qualify as such under the commonly accepted definitions of a novel. They are, variously, personal memoirs (El águila y la serpiente), sketches by persons who were witnesses to some of the happenings (Cartucho), narrative relations of revolutionary events (Contra Villa), and biographies or pseudo-biographies of certain leaders, notably of Pancho Villa, who is indeed the dominant figure throughout the literature of the Mexican revolution. The cuentos, on the contrary, retain their character, identity, and integrity as stories.

The fact that so much of Mexico's literature during this century has been about the Revolution does not mean that it has always been for the Revolution. Most of the writers have clearly been partial to the aims and ideals with which the Revolution ended by the time the "fighting stage" was over in 1920, but very few authors have been blindly and completely favorable to the Revolutionary cause. No cuentista who did that could be true to his calling, for in that case his cuentos would not be a faithful reflection of the times, would not be attuned to reality. Whatever may be the good accomplished by the Revolution (which it is not relevant for us to ponder at this point), it is not to be denied that the poor in Mexico have been deceived and disillusioned many times and in many ways by the Revolution and its leaders, both great and small. All of this is well and faithfully depicted in countless Mexican short stories written since 1910.

Despite the prominence and popularity which the cuento has enjoyed in Mexico for about a century, that country has yet to produce an outstanding writer who has concentrated exclusively on the short story or one who has published a dozen or more volumes of stories (a figure surpassed by such famous South American cuentistas as Horacio Quiroga, Ricardo Palma, and Javier de Viana). As indicated earlier, practically all Mexican

writers of importance in other forms--novelists, poets, even historians--have penned at least a few stories. This disinterest in literary specialization works both ways: all Mexican cuentistas have likewise found time to write something: poetry, novels, or biographies.

Out of the scores of persons who have cultivated the short narrative in Mexico during this century, the one who has done so most successfully would appear to be Rafael F. Muñoz, whose several volumes of cuentos revolucionarios have gained him fame as "the story-teller of the Revolution." Surely, he is not only one of Mexico's most prolific cuentistas but also one of her finest masters of this form, even though in a recent and otherwise splendid resumé of the Mexican short story he was accorded exactly one line and a half. It is greatly to be regretted that his career as one of the foremost journalists in Mexico has kept him from giving more time to his literary pursuits, especially for the past several years.

Muñoz has been criticized by some as having a style that is too journalistic. This appears to be an attempt to convict by association. The charge in any case is unfair, at least with regard to his short stories. There is a distinct tinge of the journalistic style in Muñoz' early biography of Pancho Villa, prepared in haste with a collaborator, following Villa's assassination in 1923, and in his delightful and rollicking biography of General Antonio López de Santa Anna. But this humble critic denies that journalistic defects mar the short story (or indeed any of the fictional) output of Rafael Muñoz. For one thing, good descriptive passages are rather foreign to the journalistic technique (in fact, they are quite uncommon in many of the novels of the Revolution as well), but many delicate and sensitive passages of description are found in Muñoz. Consider these lines from his story "Hermanos":

La noche parecía haberse detenido: no desparramaba más sombras sobre el campo inmóvil, ni levantaba sus cortinas espesas para que penetraran los primeros rizos azules del alba; nubes cansadas de vagar se habían acurrucado, unas sobre otras, como para darse calor, y marcaban grandes vacíos negros, como pozos abiertos en el arenal luminoso del cielo. Dormía el viento, tiritaban las ramas espinosas de los arbustos, y en las trincheras, cicatrices del campo de batalla, los soldados dormidos parecían cadáveres, mientras afuera, los cadáveres parecían soldados dormidos.

Cuando el viento bostezaba, quizá cambiando de postura para descansar más cómodo sobre la llanura, su silencio esparcía olores mezclados de yerbas silvestres y de carroña. El silencio misterioso de las horas que suceden a la batalla,



colgaba de las impávidas constelaciones como el heno parásito que vive en las frondas. Solamente existe, sin romper la calma, el temor indefinible.<sup>2</sup>

Or, these excellent lines which open "Un asalto al tren," one of Muñoz' few humorous stories. One gains no hint from these graphic opening lines of the boisterous fun to be poked later at Americans:

Sobre las paralelas de hierro, que parecen flecha kilométrica que señala algún punto misterioso del horizonte, por la llanura cubierta de pequeños arbustos, avanza rápidamente a través de verdes sembrados de ondulante maíz, cruzando arroyos que corren entre su escolta de álamos y árboles de pirú, bordeando pedregales en los que está aún tibia la centenaria lava, un tren de pasajeros.

Los postes del telégrafo, violentamente dejados atrás, parecen ir dando cada uno un latigazo a las nubes blancas que indolentemente se amontonan en celeste rebaño, al que divide por mitad la pluma negra que se levanta de la chimenea de la locomotora. Las placas que señalan el kilometraje, pasan a cada minuto ante los ojos de los pasajeros somnolientos que asoman por las ventanillas, acongojados por el calor del verano.<sup>3</sup>

Usually Muñoz is grim and realistic, because he writes of war, suffering, death, hardship, injustice, cowardice, and bravery--of humans caught up in the indiscriminate devastation of the tragedy known as war. He has some harsh surprises for us at times, as in the final lines of "Cadalso en la nieve." A young captain has just directed a firing squad in the execution of a prisoner, who in tense dialogue had tried to bribe the captain along the road to the execution site. After administering the "tiro de gracia" the captain walks off to lean heavily against a tree. Asked by the colonel in charge if he is sick, the young man responds: "No, señor.... Nada más que el ajusticiado...era ...mi padre...."<sup>4</sup>

The plots of the many Muñoz stories are uneven in quality; some are developed with true skill and effectiveness, while others are episodic or anecdotal. Dialogue is always handled smoothly, convincingly; he brings to the printed page with equal ease the speech of the literate and the illiterate, the colorful talk of the poor campesinos, the soldiers in the ranks, their soldaderas, the peons left behind but always threatened by the fighting. His characters are usually subordinate to the narrative element, though occasionally one of his characters will really take over a story and dominate it. For Muñoz (as for all writers of the Revolution) the story is the important thing, and in the telling of it through his works he has forged for himself a solid reputation as a cuentista.

Most of the comments just made about the writings of Rafael Muñoz will apply in varying degree to a number of the most successful contemporary cuentistas of Mexico. Thus, most of them are good in dialogue, uneven in plot development, deficient in character delineation, strong in narrating the action of their tales. Each will have his strong and his weak points, naturally, and in one or more of his stories the strong points will prevail to such an extent that we have an outstanding example of the cuento. From the standpoint of sheer excellence of style, Muñoz and everyone else must give way to Martín Luis Guzmán, one of whose few stories ranks among the finest yet produced in Mexico. It is "Un préstamo forzoso," which did not appear as a short story at all but rather as a chapter in Guzmán's El águila y la serpiente. Another good example of the cuento revolucionario is Jesús Millán's "El descarrilador de trenes," much less grim than Guzmán's dramatic tale. The novelist Gregorio López y Fuentes gives us an example of rural simplicity at its best in "Una carta a Dios." Less revolutionary and more universal in its human appeal is "Está verde la esperanza" by Jorge Ferretis, while "El hombre y la perla" by Dr. Atl is a psychological masterpiece.

Agustín Yáñez has done some fine short stories, including "Guerra" and others which show a superior penetration of the psychology and motivations of youngsters. Francisco Monterde cannot be omitted even from a partial listing such as this one; probably "Una moneda de oro" is his best-known cuento. Ermilo Abreu Gómez is a master of the literary folktale, with the setting usually in Yucatán. "Mejor que perros" by José Mancisidor deserves mention, as does "La cilindra" by Carmen Báez. Many consider that César Garizurieta is the most humorous of the present-day cuentistas. His humor, moreover, is gentle rather than harsh and biting. A good example of his technique at its best is found in "El apóstol del ocio."

One of the best and most popular of the current crop of story writers in Mexico is Francisco Rojas González, though in recent years he seems to have abandoned the cuento in favor of the novel. Like Muñoz, he has written stories numerous enough to fill a few volumes. Unlike Muñoz, he doesn't always stop

with just the telling of a good story; frequently he feels impelled to point out a moral, to plead the cause of the poor and down-trodden. Rojas González also writes on a wider variety of subjects than Muñoz. In addition to war stories he offers urban tales, such as "Tragedia grotesca," and rural stories like "El pajareador," a well-done account of the difficult first day of a young lad hired as a bird chaser out in the fields.

We have seen, then, that the cuento in Mexico had a normal birth and satisfactory development in its early epoch, following which it benefited through the eruption of the Mexican Revolution and has enjoyed a great flowering in the contemporary period. There is every reason to believe that, in view of this background and of the richness of Mexican life, the short story in that land is destined to flourish even more in the coming generations, possibly as the outstanding literary form in Mexico.

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1. Century Readings in the American Short Story, edited by Fred L. Pattee. New York, 1927, page 183.
  2. Si me han de matar mañana. Mexico City, 1934, page 83.
  3. Cuentos mexicanos de autores contemporáneos, edited by José Mancisidor. Mexico City, 1946, page 583.
  4. Si me han de matar mañana, page 157.

## El Teatro Mexicano Ante la Revolución Social

by Chris N. Nacci, Capital University

¿Cuál es la concepción de la Revolución en el teatro mexicano? ¿Cómo la comprende? ¿Cómo la expresa? ¿Cuál es su actitud directa ante el mundo? ¿Cuál es la intuición espiritual que tiene de esta Revolución, el teatro mexicano? ¿Cómo concibe el teatro mexicano las creaciones de la Revolución? ¿Qué determinada actitud ante la realidad de la Revolución nos proporciona el teatro y hace valer en sus creaciones?<sup>1</sup> ¿Desempeña bien este teatro su doble papel de "espejo de las costumbres"<sup>2</sup> y "depositario de la conciencia y la verdad de un pueblo?"<sup>3</sup> ¿Cómo concibe el teatro mexicano las fuerzas que influyen en la voluntad del ser humano?

Este estudio no trata de mi concepción, sino de las que se encuentran en el teatro mexicano. Mi propósito no es el de juzgar sino el de fijar y comprender. He tenido mucho cuidado en no achacar a un autor las concepciones de todos sus personajes ni colgarle las culpas de uno de ellos escogido entre varios, teniendo en cuenta que la concepción del mundo de un personaje no sólo puede no ser la del autor sino que puede ser todo lo contrario,---o por la voluntad del autor o por haber sacado al personaje de la realidad en vez de haberlo creado o por haber estado hablando irónicamente el autor.

Me he limitado a examinar lo que actualmente se dice en las piezas y evitar suposiciones mías. Lo que he recogido refleja necesariamente mejor a los que hablan más.

Mi intención ha sido buena. He querido señalar los senderos ideológicos en el teatro mexicano. Si he hecho algún mal, tendré que recurrir a las ideas de un personaje de Xavier Villaurrutia: "Querer hacer el bien y solamente el bien, equivaldría a salir a la calle un día de sol y pretender que nuestro cuerpo no haga sombra."<sup>4</sup>

Al hablar aquí del teatro mexicano, me refiero a la obra dramática escrita y publicada entre 1900 y 1950, por autores de procedencia mexicana.<sup>5</sup> Más de una veintena de éstos son naturales del Distrito Federal. Los demás proceden de varios estados mexicanos. Precisamente de: Aguas Calientes, Campeche, Coahuila, Durango, Guanajuato, Guerrero, Hidalgo, Jalisco, Michoacán, Oaxaca, Puebla, San Luis Potosí, Tabasco, Tamaulipas, Tlaxcala, Veracruz, Yucatán y Zacatecas.

Me limito a las 252 piezas, por 85 autores, que logré leer personal y directamente durante mi residencia de un año y medio en la capital mexicana.



Ya en 1923 en este teatro se había empezado a cantar los beneficios de la revolución maderista y social mexicana para los descendientes de la raza maya.<sup>6</sup>

En 1929, resurgió el prototipo de "los de abajo," dándonos a conocer sus desilusiones, pero convencido de que en la época posmaderista, él y sus compañeros eran "instrumentos de un gran movimiento social" que redundaría "en el engrandecimiento de México" y que "por ideales y principios" peleaban Villa, Carranza y Zapata.<sup>7</sup>

En 1935, un autor decía que la revolución debía ser "el motivo insistente del teatro mexicano."<sup>8</sup>

En 1938, resurgió uno de la época maderista para quien "...el gobierno nunca es ni ha sido sino la injusticia reglamentada que todo bribón lleva en el alma."<sup>9</sup>

En 1939, un personaje del último año porfiriano decía: "...ya no es posible aplazar la hora de la rebelión armada contra la dictadura..."<sup>10</sup> Un defensor dice de su creador que para éste, "el teatro...le presta armas eficacísimas para realizar una labor de penetración ideológica, de educación social, de destrucción de prejuicios y formación de una ética revolucionaria..."<sup>11</sup>

En 1942, apareció uno que aconsejaba a los campesinos a que se apropiaran de la tierra, y a los obreros que se apropiaran de las fábricas y de toda la maquinaria.<sup>12</sup>

Pero, para cada personaje que predica la violencia surge al menos otro revolucionario que se le opone o aconseja de otro modo y es igualmente sobresaliente. Por ejemplo, ya en 1916, se oye decir que los agitadores "...están enfermos con las lecturas de la Biblioteca Roja..."<sup>13</sup>

En 1928, se nos dice que la revolución es "un fenómeno aterrador...un tropiezo, un escollo que desmedra y que aniquila, que destroza sin ley y sin razón!"<sup>14</sup>

En 1932, se oye a un amigo de Emiliano Zapata decirle a éste que no puede seguirle por más tiempo a su lado si su gente se obstina "en hacer de la revolución un instrumento de bandolerismo y de crimen..."<sup>15</sup>

En 1938, oímos un rezo de la época de Huerta que Dios les libre de que se venga a repetir una revolución que acaba "siendo el azote de la cristianidad entera..."<sup>16</sup>

No es que en estos últimos casos se trata de un teatro conservador. Al contrario, se realza, como el de Bernardo Reyes en 1926, por su "espíritu inconforme," por su inquietud "de revolucionario social," por su acusación viril "contra... todo el error hecho costumbre."<sup>17</sup>

Pero, en vez de predicar "fuego y sangre" como lo hacía El Coyote en 1933,<sup>18</sup> en vez de dedicarse a los cambios en que la violencia desempeña un papel principal, como lo hace una pequeñísima minoría de todo el teatro que he leído, este teatro se dedica al otro aspecto de Revolución--a los cambios profundos y generales que, preparados por largo espacio de tiempo, a veces por muchos siglos, son de grandes consecuencias para el progreso de los pueblos. Este teatro, al menos el 90 por ciento del que he leído, se dedica a fijar, en el cumplimiento de los grandes hechos, la relación natural entre los efectos y las causas, comprendiendo entre éstas, la principal sobre la tierra, o sea la voluntad del hombre.<sup>19</sup>

Para fijar y comprender el pensamiento en este teatro mexicano, en su totalidad, respecto de la voluntad del hombre y sus nuevos horizontes, respecto de lo trascendental y lo de aplicación universal, respecto de lo que vislumbre, esté ligado y combinado con el porvenir y el paso que se enlace con él, respecto de la Revolución perpetua y el trabajo lento de los siglos, respecto del cambio que de una manera profunda afecta y se verifica en las costumbres, en las ciencias, en las artes, en las leyes y en el gobierno de las naciones,<sup>20</sup> he sacado millares de notas.

No es dable, dentro de los límites de esta ocasión, citar directamente. Por eso, me limito ahora a las conclusiones. Helas aquí:

Se destacan varias combinaciones de fuerzas por lo intenso y lo extenso de su mutua influencia complementaria o rival. Se agrupan alrededor de temas como: Dios, Destino, voluntad del hombre, herencia biológica y social, el Bien y el Mal, Revolución, amor y odio, interés e ideal, riqueza, soborno y venalidad, la dignidad y los hábitos sociales que la imitación hace valer, patriotismo y traición, lucha entre el individuo y lo establecido, clero y los intereses creados, maternidad, mujer, educación, Historia y arte. Desde un punto de vista que abarque el conjunto, perduran en mí las impresiones siguientes:

I. EL BIEN Y EL MAL. Son relativos y circunstanciales. No se puede hacer el uno sin causar el otro.

II. EL CRIMINAL. Se siente horror por el crimen, pero compasión hacia el que lo comete.

III. LA DIGNIDAD Y LA ESTIMACIÓN verdaderas e interiores se confunden con el egoísmo, vanidad, orgullo malsano, amor propio, capricho y las exteriorizaciones en que encarnan: los hábitos sociales que la imitación hace valer: honor, honra, autoridad paterna, respeto, casta, etc. La honra exista aun en el prostíbulo.

IV. LA MATERNIDAD ennoblece y no se suele despreciar a ninguna madre, sea cual fuere el grado de "legitimidad."

V. LA MUJER. Se la emancipa de convencionalismos y se le reconoce todos los derechos y aptitudes; pero hay un leve dejo de su dependencia del hombre.

VI. INTERÉS E IDEAL. Se llevan tan mezclados en el alma, que no se puede saber por cierto cuando gobierna nuestras acciones uno u otro. Los idealistas son intolerantes con los enemigos de su ideal y llegan hasta el crimen al combatirlos.

VII. SOBORNO Y VENALIDAD. No puede haber el uno sin el otro. No crece la fuerza del dinero sin que haya un terreno propicio. La venalidad incluye desde el más humilde hasta los jueces de justicia.

VIII. LA RIQUEZA MATERIAL se basa en el provecho del trabajo ajeno.

IX. DESTINO Y DIOS. El individuo o el grupo suelen servirse de ambos para explicar lo incomprensible, y para disculparse los propios crímenes, derrotas, debilidades, flaquezas e inercia. Una serie de premios, pruebas y castigos se relaciona con ambos, pero especialmente con Dios. Los intereses creados y sus aliados obligan a considerarles como intérpretes e instrumentos de ambos para convencer a los que explotan de que no vale la pena abrigar esperanzas para un cambio en su estado.

X. EL CLERO. Con muy pocas excepciones, se le considera como aliado de los intereses creados.

XI. HERENCIA BIOLÓGICA Y SOCIAL. A esta combinación se le atribuye una importancia tan grande, que llega a confundirse con Dios, el Destino y la voluntad humana conservadora. Sin embargo, los reformadores esperan que la voluntad influya en ella.

XII. AMOR, RENCOR Y ODIO. Estas pasiones no pueden vivir aisladamente la una sin la otra y se confunden fácilmente con la voluntad humana; pueden sustituirla por completo. Son armas eficaces en manos de quien quiera usarlas, sea Dios, el Destino o la misma voluntad humana, para sujetar a otra. El amor, como el Bien, es a la vez constructivo y destructivo.

XIII. VOLUNTAD HUMANA. Su valorización como causa o consecuencia influye mucho en la inercia, el estancamiento o la decadencia; también en la vitalidad o progreso y en la responsabilidad de sus actos, por parte del hombre. Los reformadores la desarrollan para animar a los "esclavos" a libertarse de sus cadenas, sean las de un vicio o una pasión,

las de explotadores personales, o sean las de los prejuicios y conveniencias de la sociedad, etc. Los rebeldes fuertes se embriagan de ella. Los intereses creados y sus aliados confunden su voluntad propia con la de Dios y con el Destino. La masa no puede ejercer la voluntad propia.

XIV. EDUCACIÓN. Hay bastante esperanza y confianza en su eficacia para desarrollar la voluntad humana y hacer reformas; pero no se ignoran los defectos.

XV. HISTORIA Y ARTE. Se suele despreciar aquélla, escrita con mayúscula, por su falta de verdad y se estima mucho al arte como la pura expresión de la verdad.

XVI. PATRIOTISMO Y TRAICIÓN. Depende del punto de vista, cuál sea en cada caso. Además de la militar, hay otras varias maneras de ser patriota: todas pacíficas.

XVII. LO ESTABLECIDO Y EL INDIVIDUO. En una lucha entre ellos, se suele simpatizar con éste. Se enfoca el interés en el cambio y en el progreso de las costumbres, más bien que en su conservación.

XVIII. LA REVOLUCIÓN. Puede ser producto de la voluntad del hombre en rebeldía contra algo o por ansia de algo y también puede proporcionar y garantizar el "libre albedrío."

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## A Year's Study at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

by Louise Sand, Mercer University

The objective of this paper is to report on an experience in foreign study which has proved most helpful to a new teacher. Perhaps those now guiding students toward the teaching profession will be interested in hearing what one year's study in Mexico, made possible by the Mexican government, has meant to a beginning teacher.

At a recent Latin American Studies Conference, the criticism was heard that our neighbors to the south are not doing enough toward helping North American students who wish to study in their countries, while on the other hand, the United States government every year helps many foreign students who want to take advantage of educational opportunities here. One might say, then, in the light of this remark, that this paper is both a defense and praise of Mexico.

In 1951 the Mexican government, the first among Latin American countries to initiate such a plan, offered for the first time fifteen grants to North American students for study in Mexico. These awards were offered through the United States-Mexican Comisión de Cooperación Cultural and were to be paid by the Secretaría de Educación Pública de México. Ten scholarships on undergraduate level were available including tuition and a maintenance grant of 600 pesos a month. There were five graduate fellowships with a maintenance of 800 pesos per month plus tuition. These scholarships were available in the fields of archeology and anthropology, history and literature, art, and various areas of the biological sciences. All scholarships were for one academic year of study starting the last of February and terminating about the fifteenth of December. All grants were, and are, handled through the Institute of International Education in New York City.

The only tangible requirements for a grantee involved the submission of two reports to the Institute, one at mid-term and the other at the end of the course of study. By quoting a passage from the letter of award which I, as a graduate student, received in January of 1951, I can show, however, that we were made to understand that there were many intangible but highly important obligations. "The opportunity which has been offered you is a special one, as this is the first year in which United States students will be studying in Mexico on awards authorized by the Mexican government. In providing these fellowships the United States-Mexican Comisión de Cooperación Cultural hopes to cement further the good relations between Mexico and this country, at the same time affording study opportunities to United States citizens who can play a positive role in this worthwhile objective."

The group of fifteen, consisting of five graduate and ten undergraduate students, from all parts of the United States, had diversified interests. Nine (of whom I was one) enrolled in the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, studying Mexican Literature and History; two were studying Art, and the remainder were at the Museo Nacional in the Escuela Nacional de Arqueología y Antropología. Twice during the year we were all together at banquets given in our honor by the Secretaría de Educación Pública. Nothing but the greatest consideration was shown us, both by school and government officials and by the Mexican people in general.

According to instructions, my first report to the Institute consisted of general information on the cost to us, the advantages and opportunities provided, courses taken, and any worthwhile advice to future grantees. Since this information would be useful in talking to a graduate or undergraduate student interested in applying for such a fellowship, portions of the report follow:

"The cost of travel involved train transportation to and from my home in St. Petersburg, Florida, to Houston, Texas, from which point I had a round-trip pass provided by the Pan American Airways." This type of benefit has since been discontinued; therefore, the student would now have to pay all of his own way to and from Mexico City.

"The day after arrival in Mexico City, I set out to find a permanent place of abode, after first going to the University for a list of suggested residences. At one of these addresses I found a very nice room with a private family, where there were no other English-speaking persons, and which included members of all ages. The cost of the room with two meals per day ran to 410 pesos per month or approximately \$43.00. The comida, taken in town, cost an average of fifty cents a day, making the total expense of room and board approximately \$60.00 per month. As the scholarship allowance was \$92.00 per month, this left some money for incidentals. All fees at the University were waived."

"The well-known Summer School conducted by the UNAM, after some persuasion, admitted free of charge those of us who wished to attend. Considering that the regular fee was \$75.00 (U. S. currency), and that we were then living in terms of pesos, this was quite a concession on the part of the University. This was not part of the original scholarship grant, and so we were pleased to be both geographically and financially able to attend classes in the Summer School."

Incidental expenses have been great or small, depending on the individual. But I should like to emphasize that the scholarship was adequate for the economical student, even for the purchase of books and bus tickets for such travel as time



would allow. Bus travel was about one-half as expensive as bus transportation in this country, and was really quite comfortable if one went first class. On short trips, we found it much cheaper, and also much more educational and amusing, to go third class! In fact, I might say that in my experience the best education the North American student can have in Mexico is that received on a third class bus, surrounded by canastas of varying shapes, sizes and contents, cans of milk and other liquids, gualolotes, usually alive and protesting, loads of firewood, bunches of flowers and vegetables, as well as representatives from the whole gamut of humanity. Here indeed was the most liberal part of liberal education!

As for the actual academic benefits, I might name the courses I pursued. There was no limit, so far as the University was concerned, to the number of courses we could take. Most of us took five or six which met for two or three hours each week. Lingüística indoeuropea, Literatura mexicana del siglo XIX, Literatura cervantina, Historia de México Independiente, Historia precortesiana, Historia de la evangelización de México, and Literatura del Siglo de Oro were some of the courses we took. At the UNAM, we had the opportunity of studying under several learned and well-known professors, including don Julio Jiménez Rueda, well-known authority on Hispanic literature, and José Luis Martínez, scholar in the field of Mexican letters.

Courses taken during the six weeks summer term included an introductory course in the Lengua Nahuá taught by Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, authority in the field of indigenous languages, ethnologist and professor at the Escuela Nacional de Arqueología y Antropología. This course was very interesting because it provided an insight into the significance of many of the geographical names in Mexico of indigenous origin. Other courses included Novela de la Revolución and a Seminario de Estudios de literatura mexicana, conducted by Francisco Monterde, head of the Summer School and authority on Mexican literature. In the Seminario we had the privilege of hearing twice a week from the novelist Mariano Azuela, since deceased, who came to our class to talk about the birth and formation of his novels. One of the most interesting courses was that called Problemas sociales y educativos de México moderno, a class which usually lasted all afternoon. Several banquets were included--free of charge! In this class, we visited schools of various types and levels, hospitals, film and radio studios, one of the larger banks, the new housing project, and the then only half completed Ciudad Universitaria. As one might well imagine, although at times this course did take on a few of the undesirable turista characteristics, it provided much opportunity for insight into phases of Mexican advancement which we should not have had otherwise.

As for difficulties, if there were any, it was because we made them; or rather, because we called "difficulties" such things as were different from our own way of doing--especially the lack of organization and the attitude expressed in the terms "mañana" and "ahorita viene," which we soon found to mean anything from actually "ahorita" to the next week or even later. However, as soon as we realized that we were in a different psychological pattern, we no longer saw such situations as "difficulties." One example of this can be shown in the rather frustrating experience (at least it was until we got used to the idea) at the end of the first semester in July when we discovered that we had never been officially registered at all, despite the week we had spent back in March, standing in all sorts of lines and waiting hours in several offices to obtain one signature that in this country would have been obtainable in five minutes with the aid of a rubber stamp. It seemed that the irregularity of our not having paid any fees had so confused the school officials that they had decided we were not registered. However, with a good sense of humor, a little patience, and a few trips to the Secretaría de Educación we straightened the whole matter out, and by a succession of visits to a number of ventanillas, we were each given a check by the University in the amount of our fees, a check which we immediately returned to an adjoining ventanilla, where we were given a card stating that the required fees had been paid, and that we would be permitted to receive the report of our first semester's work. But all this was "in the course of Mexican events" and more amusing than disturbing.

When we left Mexico at the close of the year, each of us to come back to the United States to a different walk of life, I believe that each one had gained much in the way of human understanding. As a novice teacher, I noted a great difference in my attitude when I returned. I had taught part-time for two years before going to Mexico. During that time, although I enjoyed my classes, still I was relaying second-hand information, what I had read and what others had told me. "Sabía varias cosas, pero no las había vivido." When I returned from Mexico I felt much more secure in that I had actually lived, at least for a time, in another pattern of life. That year gave me a very humble appreciation of the fact that the world embraces much more than can be realized by one who has studied only vicariously the life and culture of another country and people. And also, it filled me with a great desire, which has not yet begun to wane but instead has been strengthened by a return visit to Mexico last summer, to talk on and on about Mexico and about understanding and accepting a different way of life rather than to criticize and condemn it because it is not the same as ours.

It is hoped that this account of one teacher's appreciation of the value received from a year's study in a foreign country will serve to call attention to the very commendable way in which one Latin American country is contributing toward international education.

## Spanish Women of the Mexican Conquest in the Chronicles \*

by Terrell Louise Tatum, University of Chattanooga

According to Manuel Orozco y Berra (Los Conquistadores de México), there were eight Spanish women with the army of Cortés when it reached Mexican shores in early 1519. They were Beatriz Hernández, Elvira Hernández, another Beatriz Hernández (daughter of Elvira), Catarina Márquez (called La Bermuda), Beatriz Ordaz, Francisca Ordaz, Isabel Rodrigo (or Rodríguez), and María de Vera. There were four with Pánfilo de Narváez's expedition which arrived some months later: María de Estrada, Beatriz Bermúdez de Velasco, Juana Martín, and Beatriz Palacios, a mulatto.<sup>1</sup> Others came with later groups, although Orozco y Berra does not name them.

Cortés, the first chronicler of the Conquest, did not write of the Spanish women in his Cartas o Relaciones to the Emperor, although I shall point out later some evidences of his concern for their welfare. The next most significant eye-witness account is the detailed one of grand old Bernal Díaz del Castillo whose work, Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España, is one of the classic chronicles. He wrote of several Spanish women. In this paper his treatment of them will be examined together with the remarks made by other important chroniclers. Thus we shall see how the women fared generally in the chronicles.

One must, however, read between the lines to sense many aspects of the rough and ready life they had to share with their adventurous husbands and sweethearts. They were certainly not hothouse flowers. If they had been, they never would have reached Mexican shores in those early years of the turbulent sixteenth century.

Antonio de Herrera, in his Historia de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Océano, called the Spanish women of whom he wrote "constantes y animosas,"<sup>2</sup> and I shall quote several passages from his work. In the long marches they carried their share of belongings on their backs and often felt utter exhaustion, at first from the enervating heat of the tierra caliente and later from the bite of the icy winds of the high cordillera. They, too, knew the gnawing hunger of those times when, as Cortés himself recorded: "The fruit of the palm-tree, boiled with hogs' flesh, and without salt, which we had exhausted some time previous, formed our only sustenance." Or again, when they had only "unsavory roots... procured with the greatest difficulty," and sometimes nothing at all.<sup>3</sup>

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\* This study is a part of a more extensive one, Spanish Women of the Conquest of Mexico, made possible by a University of Chattanooga grant-in-aid in 1952.

There were some excellent cooks among them, the sutler-women who prepared the rough camp fare when there was food to cook and who dispensed wine--often from improvised booths. How many hours they must have spent stirring the stews in the caldrons, which swung from "a crossarm between forked stakes."<sup>4</sup> These stews were made from the new and, to them, strange vegetables of the land. Other hours were spent poking and turning the spits on which were roasting turkeys and venison or other native fare--even the Mexican dogs they soon learned to eat.

There was a variety of social classes to be found among that feminine group. On this subject we might well say what proud Bernal Díaz said of himself and his fighting companions who were in the original group. After giving the background of the principal hidalgos of the expedition, he wrote: "... éramos todos los demás hijosdalgo, aunque algunos no pueden ser de tan claros linajes..."<sup>5</sup> There were high-born, aristocratic ladies and daughters of poverty-plagued peasants. In writing of four of the women, Bernal Díaz used the Spanish title Doña, uncommon at that time, which Salvador de Madariaga pointed out in his work Hernán Cortés, Conqueror of Mexico, was an "outward symbol of nobility which implied respect and deference on the part of the rank and file..."<sup>6</sup> The first three were the Valencian ladies Doña Francisca de Valterra, Doña María del Rincón, and Doña María Gutiérrez de la Caballería, wife of the treasurer, "cierta dina de buena memoria por sus muchas virtudes."<sup>7</sup> Some of the others earned the title for themselves. For example, Bernal Díaz told the story of how it was given to one of them. Some time after Cortés had marched on the unhappy trip to Honduras (Las Hibueras), the Fator or Agent Salazar caused false news of the Conqueror's death to spread in Mexico City. The women whose husbands were reported killed were told to remarry. Juana de Mansilla, wife of Alonso Valiente, who had accompanied the expedition, refused to do so. She insisted that Cortés and her husband were not dead and would return. According to Bernal Díaz, "porque dijo estas palabras la mandó azotar el fator por las calles públicas de Méjico por hechicera."<sup>8</sup>

But one Sunday night Martín Dorantes, one of Cortés's servants, straggled into the capital with letters proving that his master was still alive. Salazar was jailed and Alonso de Estrada, the Treasurer, immediately honored Juana de Mansilla. He rode, "with her on his horse," through the streets of Mexico, accompanied by other gentlemen. And, Bernal Díaz recorded, "con mucho regocijo la llamaron desde allí adelante la señora doña Juana de Mansilla."<sup>9</sup> The original station of the ladies is often suggested by their nicknames, such as "La hija de la vaquera," wife of Juan Pérez.<sup>10</sup> In the group were young women and older ones. Bernal Díaz called some viejas (Isabel Rodríguez, María de Estrada) and another algo anciana (Marí Hernández).<sup>11</sup> Some of them were quite beautiful. Here again we



have Bernal Díaz's word. At different points he called several hermosa or muy hermosas: La Bermuda (wife of Hernán Martín), Isabel de Ojeda, La Monjaraza.<sup>12</sup>

I can see them now in imagination, rouging their faces and otherwise grooming themselves, to point up their dark hair and olive skin, before broken pieces of looking-glass which they guarded carefully. Many such common objects were priceless to them. For example, good needles with which to mend their own tattered clothing and that of their men were scarce. They did the patching well, for Spanish women have been superb patchers through the ages and their skill at it has been handed down to the women of Spain today.

Some of them on occasion must have sworn like sergeants. They certainly often spoke their minds as has been seen in the case of Juana de Mansilla. Herrera also told how in 1520 Beatriz de Ordás (wife of the blacksmith Alonso de Hernando) and her sister Francisca (wife of Juan Gonzalo de León), when they learned of Narváez's imprisonment, reprehended his men and applauded Cortés and his victory over them. The two women cried from a window: "Bellacos Dominicos, que más os pertenecían las Rucas, que las Espadas, buena cuenta habéis dado de vosotros, mal habían las mugeres, que vinieron con tales hombres"; y yendo a Cortés, le hicieron reverencia; y dixerón palabras de más que mugeres, loando su valor."<sup>13</sup> The same chronicler also recalled how in 1521 Beatriz Bermúdez de Velasco (wife of Francisco de Olmos), urged the Castilians on to victory when she saw them fleeing from the Mexicans and saw Cristóbal, who was carrying the flag, fall. Herrera wrote of her, "...armado el cuerpo, con un Escapil, con Celada, Espada, i Rodela salió a la Calçada gritando: 'Vergüença, castellanos, volved contra gente tan vil; i si no queréis, no pasará Hombre de aquí, que no le mate.'" Fue tan grande la vergüença, que revolviendo sobre los mexicanos, se peleó reciamente, i se hubo victoria."<sup>14</sup>

Several of the women (Beatriz de Palacios, María de Estrada, Isabel Rodríguez, Juana de Mansilla, and others) told Cortés once when he wanted them to remain to rest in Tlascala while the main body of the army marched on: "Que no era bien que mugeres castellanas dejasen a sus maridos, iendo a la guerra, y que adonde ellos muriesen, morirían ellas."<sup>15</sup> It is one of the noble passages in the chronicles. Prescott quoted it in a note and--in a chapter entitled The Siege and Surrender of Mexico, 1521--wrote in general of the women: "Had they (the men) faltered, they might have learned a lesson in fortitude from some of their own wives, who continued with them in the camp, and who displayed a heroism, on this occasion, of which history has preserved several examples..." And further: "The historian has embalmed the names of several of these heroines in his pages who are, doubtless, well entitled to share the honors of the Conquest: Beatriz de Palacios, María de Estrada, Juana Martín, Isabel Rodríguez, and Beatriz Bermúdez."<sup>16</sup>

As much is written of their bravery all through the Conquest as of any other trait. In mentioning the persons saved during the Noche Triste, Bernal Díaz wrote of how glad they were to know that María de Estrada, "la buena y honrada mujer," had been saved.<sup>17</sup> Herrera also called the mulatto Beatriz de Palacios, "valerosa mujer," and told of her valuable aid when Cortés was driven out of Tenochtitlán and in the later siege. The chronicler said that she aided her husband, Pedro de Escobar, and his companions when they were tired out from a day's fighting, by standing guard in their place and by acting as sentinel in their turn, and that she did all of it "con mucho cuidado."<sup>18</sup> He also recalled that, putting aside her arms, she would often go out to the fields to get bledos and prepare and cook them for Escobar and his companions.<sup>19</sup> I shall speak of her again in discussing the women's part in nursing the ill and wounded.

They had their share, too, in lancing fierce enemy Indians. For, dressed in armor just like the roughest soldier, they fought many times. Francisco Javier Clavijero, in the third volume of his Historia antigua de México, wrote of their valor in the Battle of Otumba, which took place shortly after the Noche Triste: "Es también celebrada de las plumas el ánimo de María de Estrada, mujer de un soldado español, la cual armada de lanza y rodela corría por entre los enemigos hiriendo y matando con una intrepidez muy ajena de su sexo."<sup>20</sup>

Fray Juan de Torquemada, in his Monarquía Indiana, wrote of her: "Y asimismo se mostró muy valerosa en este aprieto y conflicto María de Estrada, la qual con una Espada, y una Rodela en las manos, hizo hechos maravillosos y se entraba por los Enemigos con tanto coraje, y ánimo, como si fuera uno de los más valientes Hombres de el Mundo, olvidada de que era Muger.... Casó esta señora con Pedro Sánchez Farfán y diéronle en Encomienda el Pueblo de Tetela."<sup>21</sup>

In addition to tense fighting moments and the exhausting marches, there was much more, obviously, to try the stamina of anyone as the flame of the Conquest grew. That many of them were kind-hearted Samaritans<sup>22</sup> as well as fierce warriors on occasion is evident from the chroniclers' references to their nursing of the ill and wounded--how they washed and dressed terrible wounds, with bandages made of crude cloths, or fanned away the insects. How it must have sickened them to rub on gaping wounds the human grease they had had to help Escobar, the doctor-surgeon-apothecary, collect "in ointment cases" from dead Indians. It certainly took stout women's hearts, also, to aid the surgeon in his operations, as they did, by handing him the hot iron and watching him thrust it into bleeding wounds being seared to stop the flow of blood. Even more trying was it for them to help while the more serious wounds were being plastered with boiling pitch.<sup>23</sup> These nursing duties were especially heavy after the

Night of Terror when almost every man left was wounded. Maybe one or more of these stout-hearted women had, shortly before the tragic night, watched at Montezuma's side during the frightful hours when the Aztec emperor refused to have anything done to alleviate his physical wounds, not nearly as deep as those of his broken spirit.

Herrera wrote further of Beatriz de Palacios in her work as a nurse and in the other duties she assumed: "Curaba las heridas, ensillaba los caballos y hacía otras cosas como qualquiera soldado; y esta, y otras fueron las que curaron a Cortés y a sus compañeros, cuando llegaron heridos a Tlascala." To Isabel Rodríguez, he recalled, God gave a special gift for comforting the many who were wounded and he told how "...les ataba las heridas, y se las santiguaba, diciendo: 'En el nombre del Reino del Cielo, y del Espíritu Santo, va sólo Dios Verdadero, El te cure, y sane'; Lo cual no hacía más de dos veces, y muchas no más de una; i acontecía que...iban otro día a pelear: grande argumento de que Dios estaba con los castellanos pues daba salud a tantos, por mano de aquella mujer."<sup>24</sup> He related the story of the soldier Magallanes who was wounded by a vara in the throat,<sup>25</sup> and with blood gushing out, crawled to the cuartel, "hurled himself into the arms of that pious woman, Isabel Rodríguez, and died, saying: 'A Dios me encomiendo.'"<sup>26</sup>

Some of the women were wounded, captured and held for hostage or killed. Bernal Díaz mentioned sixty-six soldiers and "cinco mujeres de Castilla," from the Narváez expedition and their own, who were killed by the Mexicans in Tuztepeque while there in guarnición in that province.<sup>27</sup> However, he contradicted himself in this matter, as in some other places, for he mentioned the affair again in telling of the battles in which he fought and of those killed in them. There he said, "tres mujeres de Castilla" died in the town of Tuztepeque. They had remained there believing that the Indians would give them food, and also because they were of the Narváez expedition and were "dolientes."<sup>28</sup>

Those women of the Conquest were subjected, too, to the rough talk and caresses of the soldiers. There are references indicating some of the soldiers were punished for assaulting a woman. Although Cortés did not write of them in detail or by name in his Cartas de relación, we know that he had their general welfare at heart. When he arranged the order of march for the army for the flight from Tenochtitlán on the Night of Terror, for example, he put the women--"mancebas de los soldados," Doña Marina, and Montezuma's daughters--in the center with a special guard.<sup>29</sup> On one occasion he wanted them to remain in Tlascala to rest while the army moved on. In Number IV of his Ordenanzas militares was the order: "Nadie fuerze a mujer alguna so pena de la vida,"<sup>30</sup> and the threatened punishment was mercilessly carried out when the Ordenanza was broken. One case was that of the soldier Juan Escobar, one of the original Cortés group, who was hanged "por haber hecho fuerza a una casada."<sup>31</sup>

At times some of them were mistreated by their own rough husbands. Bernal Díaz mentioned that Juan Pérez (one of the signers of the letter of 1520) killed his wife, La hija de la vaquera,<sup>32</sup> and that Hulano Juárez, El viejo, killed his with a grinding stone.<sup>33</sup>

So much about them can be read between the lines of the fascinating chronicles! Some husbands gambled away their money and booty in campfire card games. In the first group, there was one Pedro Valenciano, who "de cuero de tambor hizo naipes para el juego de los soldados, durante la primera entrada a México."<sup>34</sup> They were well supplied with cards for their games.

And what a keen eye those busy women had to keep on their men at all times! Often, I am sure, one would seek out Botello, the Astrologer-Soothsayer, for a charm against her man's excessive gambling, roving affections, and attentions to other women, or simply a charm with which to win some gallant with whom she had fallen in love. I often wonder whether Botello's advice to the women was at any time more effective than his ability to save his own life, because--in the end--all his wives could not save him on the Noche Triste.

However, all the women were not always as faithful as was Juana de Mansilla. Bernal Díaz told of the wife of the Cordoban Alonso Yáñez who married someone else while her husband was on the Honduras expedition.<sup>35</sup>

But all was not dark and blood-stained in those months of the Conquest. One highlight was on the night of August 13, 1521, the date on which Guatemozín and his captains were taken. That night the victorious Spaniards had a great banquet in Coyoacán. Bernal Díaz wrote of it: "Pues ya que habían alzado las mesas salieron a danzar las damas que había con los galanes cargados con sus armas de algodón, que me parece cosa para reír, y fueron las damas que aquí nombraré, que no hubo otras en todo el real ni en la Nueva España: primeramente la vieja María de Estrada que después casó con Pedro Sánchez Farfán; y Francisca de Ordaz que casó con un hidalgo que se decía Juan Gonzalo de León; 'La Bermuda' que casó con Olmos de Portillo, el de Méjico; otra señora, mujer del capitán Portillo que murió en las bergantinas, y ésta por estar viuda no la sacaron a la fiesta, e una Hulana Gómez, mujer que fué de Benito de Vargas, y otra señora hermosa que se decía 'La Bermuda'; no se me acuerda el nombre de pila, que se casó con un Hernán Martín que se vino a vivir a Guexaca, y otra vieja que se decía Isabel Rodríguez, mujer que en aquella sazón era de Hulano de Guadalupe, y otra mujer algo anciana que se decía Marí Hernández, mujer que fué de Juan de Cáceres 'el Rico,' y de otras ya no me acuerdo que las hobiesen en la Nueva España."<sup>36</sup>

From the beginning of the Conquest, at night around the campfire, or during the occupation of Tenochtitlán in the great halls of the palace of Axayacatl, Montezuma's father, where



they were quartered, they listened fascinated while Ortiz and Alonso Morón, the musicians, sang popular airs and old romances of Granada and other regions of Spain--ballads that have gone wherever Spaniards have wandered the earth for centuries.

There were women who, dressed in nothing more than a very low cut blouse and short skirt, would dance to the click of castanets and the magnetic chords of the guitars of Ortiz, and others who performed the Castilian zarabanda and flamenco dances of Andalusia while their companions beat time with their hands. The dancers would receive, perhaps, a few cents with which to buy strips of brocade or silk from more financially fortunate companions. At other times, sleepless parties would spend the whole night dancing country dances and singing. Often such parties would end in wild carousing.

Their life in the strange new land was far removed in kind as well as distance from that in the great houses from which the high-born came in far away Spain and from that life in the dark, bare village homes of the lesser born. We can imagine how often they must have longed, during the hot marches through the blistering tierra caliente of Mexico, for a mere breath of the cold winds from the Guadarramas or for a view of Granada's Sierra Nevada. We can also imagine how, while shivering beneath the freezing sleet of the Mexican sierra, they must have dreamed of the warm caress of sun-swept days in Sevilla or Valencia.

By queer quirks of fate, some women were spared during the Conquest only to meet tragic deaths later. One of the most touching examples of this is that of Doña Francisca de Valterra and her husband, good Pedro de Guzmán, who went to Peru where they froze to death in some high Andean corner.<sup>37</sup>

So the chroniclers have sketched for us in fascinating words the Spanish women of the Conquest of Mexico. Some of them were rewarded for their roles in that saga by being given an encomienda de indios. One of the most deserving, María de Estrada, and her husband, Pedro Sánchez Farfán, so Fray Juan de Torquemada tells us, were given el pueblo de Tetela (now Toluca) as an encomienda.<sup>38</sup>

Other women came soon after the Conquest, further sealing--through the transplanting of the domestic life norms of ancient Spain--the stamp of that unforgettable land upon the face and heart of Mexico.

Notes

1. Manuel Orozco y Berra, Los conquistadores de México. México, D. F., 1938, pages 56, 68-69.
2. Antonio de Herrera, Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Océano. Madrid, 1726, 1739, Dec. III, Lib. 1, Ch. XXII, page 40.
3. Hernán Cortés, Cartas de relación de la Conquista de Méjico. Buenos Aires, 1945, Fifth Relación.
4. Samuel Shellabarger, Captain from Castile. Garden City, 1946, page 223. An historical novel.
5. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España. Madrid, 1933, 2 vols.; vol. II, page 551.
6. Salvador de Madariaga, Hernán Cortés, Conqueror of Mexico. New York, 1941, page 152.
7. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, vol. II, pages 437, 531, 534.
8. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, vol. II, page 383; Herrera also relates this.
9. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, vol. II, page 398; P. Fr. Tomás de San Rafael, Historia de la Conquista, población y progresos de Nueva España, Segunda parte. Valencia, Tip. del Carmen, 1927; Herrera, Dec. III, Lib. 2, page 198.
10. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, vol. II, page 526.
11. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, vol. II, page 149.
12. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, vol. II, pages 149, 538, 546.
13. Herrera, Dec. II, Lib. 1, Ch. X, page 256.
14. Herrera, Dec. III, Lib. 1, Ch. XXII, page 42.
15. Herrera, Dec. III, Lib. 1, Ch. XXII, page 40.
16. William H. Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, 2 vols., 1900. Vol. II, Ch. VI, page 255.
17. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, vol. II, page 546.
18. Herrera, Dec. III, Lib. 2, pages 39-40.

19. Herrera, Dec. III, Lib. 1, Ch. XXII, page 39.
20. Francisco Javier Clavijero, Historia antigua de México. México, 1945, vol. III, page 190.
21. Fray Juan de Torquemada, Monarquía Indiana. Madrid, 1725-- first published in Sevilla, 1615; Lib. 4, Ch. 72.
22. Eduard Stucken, The Great White Gods, translated from the German (Die Weißen Götter) by Frederick H. Martens. New York, 1934. In this historical novel, Mr. Stucken used "kind-hearted Samaritan" (page 473) in referring to Inés Florín; on page 233, he called Isabel Rodríguez, Inés Florín, and La Medina "the Samaritans of the army."
23. Shellabarger, page 203.
24. Herrera, Dec. III, Lib. 1, Ch. XXII, page 39.
25. A. Grove Day, Editor, Fernando Cortés: Despatches from Mexico. New York, 1935, in a note on page 111 says that "these were javelins hurled by means of the native atlatl, or throwing stick."
26. Herrera, Dec. III, Lib. 1, Ch. XXII, page 39.
27. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, vol. II, page 529.
28. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, vol. II, page 589.
29. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, vol. I, page 482.
30. Clavijero, vol. III, page 221.
31. Orozco y Berra, page 40; Bernal Díaz del Castillo, vol. II, page 540.
32. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, vol. II, page 526; Orozco y Berra, page 74.
33. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, vol. II, page 527.
34. Orozco y Berra, page 55.
35. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, vol. II, page 532.
36. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, vol. II, page 149.
37. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, vol. II, page 531.
38. See Note 21.

## An Annotated Bibliography of Mexican Spanish for 1940-1953

by Hensley C. Woodbridge, Murray State College

It is the purpose of this bibliography to continue for the years 1940-1953 the Mexican section (pp. 81-92, entries 910-1040) of A Bibliographical Guide to Materials for the Study of American Spanish by Madaline Nichols (Cambridge, 1941; reviewed by L. E. Kiddle, Revista iberoamericana, VII (1943), 213-240; L. O. Wright, Hispanic American Historical Review, XXII (1942), 182-5; M. C., Revista de filología española, XXV (1941), 432-3; A. Alonso, Revista de filología hispánica, IV (1942), 85-6; and W. J. Entwistle, Modern Language Review, XXXVII (1942), 405-6). No attempt has been made to list studies dealing with style, for the reader is referred to the excellent A Critical Bibliography of the New Stylistics Applied to the Romance Literature 1900-1952 (Chapel Hill, 1953, 302pp.) by Helmut A. Hatzfeld. Works that deal with Latin American Spanish as a whole have been purposely omitted as it is hoped that this group of studies can be treated as a whole later.

### I. Bibliographies

The compiler knows for this period of no thorough bibliography that deals uniquely with Mexican Spanish. The following are noted:

1. Max L. Wagner, "Crónica bibliográfica hispanoamericana," Revista portuguesa de filología, supplement no. 1 (1951), 369-398; the most incomplete Mexican section is pp. 373-5; one-fourth of the Mexican section is devoted to Suárez' study on the Spanish of Yucatan (see item no. 10).
2. Nueva revista de filología hispánica contains in each issue a bibliography dealing with Latin American linguistics.
3. R. S. Boggs publishes in the April issue of the Southern Folklore Quarterly a bibliography of folk speech.
4. The Handbook of Latin American Studies for 1940-1944 contains a section devoted to folklore, while the Handbook for 1940-41 and for 1945 contains a section on Spanish-American Spanish.
5. Linguistic bibliography (1940-1951, 5 vols.) is UNESCO-sponsored and lists materials on Mexican Spanish in the Spanish section.

### II. General Studies

Few overall studies exist on the Spanish of Mexico. The two studies listed here are too short to be of value.

6. G. Gómez de Estavillo, A Book for Linguists (Mexico, n.d.) contains "A Note on the Spanish that is Spoken in Mexico," pp. 213-31 and "Current Mexicanisms," pp. 239-342. The vocabulary is much more valuable than the popular treatment of Mexican Spanish.

7. J. González Moreno's Etimologías del español: esquema de un estudio diacrónico del vocabulario hispano-mexicano (Mexico, 1942, 245pp.) is a later edition of Nichols no. 916. Pertinent sections are: "El español en México," pp. 116-128; "El vocabulario azteca," pp. 173-185; and "Geonimias mexicanas," pp. 191-205.

Several of the important dialectal studies have been doctoral dissertations (i.e., nos. 8-9) on the speech of a special area. They follow in their quest for data the Cuestionario lingüístico hispano-americano by Tomás Navarro Tomás (Buenos Aires, 1945, 2nd ed.). Though the Cuestionario may be their starting point, the authors have supplemented their material by questions suggested by their own observation.

8. Peter Boyd-Bowman, A Linguistic Study of the Spanish of Guanajuato, Mexico (Harvard, 1949, XXXIV, 373 leaves, 1 map; to be published soon in Mexico as El español de Guanajuato, México) aims "to investigate...the phonetic, morphological, syntactical and lexical features of a single Mexican community... This study has sought to integrate the speech of Guanajuato with that of other regions of Hispania." Of special interest are part two, which is devoted to morphology, and part four, which is devoted to lexicography.

9. Stanley L. Robe, A Dialect and Folkloristic Study of Texts Recorded in Los Altos of Jalisco, Mexico (University of North Carolina, 1949, 381 leaves, 2 maps, bibliography) contains chapters on phonetics, morphology, and syntax as well as chapters on Los Altos; methodology, informants and their use, and a vocabulary of about 150 words of "non-standard Spanish words and terms which are found in the recorded texts of chapter two." The folk motifs of the recorded texts are analyzed and the conclusion occupies leaves 361-73.

10. V. M. Suárez, El español que se habla en Yucatán. Apuntamientos filológicos (Mérida, 1945, XXIV, 198pp., index; 2nd ed. in preparation) contains a bibliography of 134 entries; nos. 78-134 list material on the speech of Yucatan. Part One is a geographical and historical introduction. Part Two is a study of the language's phonetic features with a note on the influence of the Mayan phonetic system on the Spanish of the region. Part Three deals with morphology and lexicography; Part Four discusses regional meaning of various standard Spanish words as well as semantic transpositions from Maya to Spanish. Part Five is a discussion of syntax, popular expressions and idioms. This volume has been reviewed by Y. Malkiel, Hispanic Review, XVI (1948), 175-83; Hernández Campo, Nueva revista de filología hispánica, III (1949), 175-9, and M. L. Wagner, Vox Romanica, XII (1951), 189-192.



11. Rosario Gutiérrez Eskilden, Substrato y superstrato del español de Tabasco (México, 1944, XIII, 134pp., mimeographed) is a study chiefly of the Chontal influence on the Spanish of Tabasco. The conclusions to this study are found on pp. 123-4.

12. \*Rosario Gutiérrez Eskilden, El habla popular y campesina de Tabasco (México, 1941, VII, 92pp.).

13. Albert L. Donnell, El lenguaje del pensador mexicano (Universidad nacional autónoma de México, Escuela de Verano, México, 1950, 111pp.) "se propone ser un estudio sobre lo mexicano del lenguaje en Fernández de Lizardi." It is divided into three major parts: phonetics, morphology and syntax, and a vocabulary of Mexicanisms and Americanisms.

#### PHONOLOGY

Almost all of the previously mentioned regional studies deal with the phonology of the speech of the region. The following are the most important of the specialized studies on the phonology of Mexican Spanish:

14. Joseph Matluck, La pronunciación en el español del Valle de México (México, 1951, XXVI, 123 pp.; reviewed by W. C. Atkinson, Modern Language Review, XLVII (1952), 428-9; L. Flórez, Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, VII (1951), 370-80; and J. Pérez Vidal, Revista de dialectología y tradiciones populares, VII (1951), 540-1).

15. "La pronunciación del español en el valle de México," Nueva revista de filología hispánica, VI (1952, one map), 109-120, uses the Cuestionario lingüístico hispanoamericano and increases our knowledge of an area considerably larger than that studied by C. C. Marden (Nichols 927) in his now classic study. The book compares the phonological traits of the region with those of other dialects of Spain and America; the article is concerned only with the peculiar traits of the area studied.

16. Peter Boyd-Bowman, "La pérdida de vocales átonas en la altiplanicie mexicana," Nueva revista de filología hispánica, VI (1952), 138-140, discusses the shortening or complete loss of unaccented vowels, especially when final, in rapid conversation; this he considers one of the outstanding phonetic features of the Mexican plateau.

17. The same writer's "Sobre restos de lleísmo en México," Nueva revista de filología hispánica, VI (1952, one map), 69-74, shows that Barranca de Río Grande or San Sebastián in Hidalgo is completely yeísta. This contradicts a study by Revilla (Nichols 932) published in 1910, which claimed that Barranca de Atotonilco el Grande was the only region in North America in which the Spanish ll survived.



18. Harold V. King, "Outline of Mexican Spanish Phonology," Studies in Linguistics, X (1952), 51-62, discusses the vowel and consonant phonemes, vowel allophones, stress, open juncture, phoneme sequences, phrases and pauses, intonation, and pitch.

#### DESCRIPTIVE STUDIES

Individual phenomena and parts of speech have been studied descriptively in theses written under the direction of Professor Henry Kahane of the University of Illinois. The theses by Ringo, Seltzer, McWilliams, and Murphy appear in shortened versions in Contributions to Descriptive Linguistics (Urbana, Ill., in press). Printed abstracts of each also exist.

19. Elbert W. Ringo, The Position of the Noun Marker in Colloquial Mexican Spanish (1950, 66 leaves) "is a description of the structure of the noun expression in terms of the position of the noun modifier."

20. Spencer L. Murphy, A Description of Noun Suffixes in Colloquial Mexican Spanish (1950, XIV, 100 leaves) introduces the idea of the noun marker and infixes. A noun suffix is defined as "a bound form between the base and the noun marker which to some degree modifies the meaning of the base."

21. Ralph D. McWilliams, The Adverb in Colloquial Spanish (1951, 171 leaves) is a "descriptive analysis of the form and the position of the adverb in colloquial Spanish." The thesis is divided into two parts: Form and Position.

22. Harriett A. Seltzer, The Development of the Function Word System from Vulgar Latin to Modern Spanish (1950, 211 leaves) is a discussion of the function word system as seen through Vulgar Latin, Medieval Spanish, and Modern Spanish. Leaves 121-166 are based on the Mexican sainete La vecindad de la Purísima by Eduardo Macedo Arbeu.

23. Lillian Hejtmanek, The Syntax of the Exclamation in Colloquial Mexican Spanish (1947, 93 leaves) is based on texts from twenty Mexican twentieth-century dramas.

24. H. and R. Kahane, "The Position of the Actor Expression in Colloquial Mexican Speech," Language, XXVI (1950), 236-63, is "an attempt to describe, in terms of form, the position of the actor expression."

25. H. Kahane and Richard Beym, "Syntactical Juncture in Colloquial Mexican Spanish," Language, XXIV (1948), 388-96, is based on a master's thesis of the same title by Beym (1948, 59 leaves). In this article "the units of Spanish speech, or phonic groups, have been established by means of juncture phenomena and defined in terms of phrase function."

LEXICOGRAPHY

Few attempts have been made in recent years to produce complete dictionaries of Mexican Spanish. Several short word-lists have appeared:

26. J. H. Utley, "A Mexican Word-list," Hispania, XXIII (1940), 357-61.

27. Minnie M. Miller and Daniel F. Acosta, "Spanish vocabulary list based on the Mexican Excelsior," Hispania, XXXIV (1951), 189-191.

28. George C. Storz, Mexican Spanish (San Diego, 1946) contains a "Mexican-English dictionary," pp. 16-64.

It is to be pointed out that glossaries of American textbook editions of Mexican novels and plays sometimes contain valuable notes. Also certain Spanish dictionaries published in Mexico contain Mexicanisms or sections of Mexicanisms.

29. \*Fernando Vargas, Diccionario práctico de barbarismos corrientes (Mexico, 1943) might be of use in the study of Mexicanisms.

In recent years both Tabasco and Guerrero have been provided with dictionaries:

30. José Domingo Ramírez Garrido, \*Diccionario tabasqueño, cuaderno 1, A-B (Mexico, 1946, 40pp.) is still far from complete.

31. Hector F. López, Diccionario geográfico, histórico, biográfico y lingüístico del estado de Guerrero (México, 1942, 461pp.) is of value chiefly for its study of fauna, flora, and place names.

In the period covered by this survey, the vocabulary of the charro, agricultor, and ganadero have been studied in a detail greater than before.

32. Carlos Rincón Gallardo, Diccionario ecuestre... (Mexico, 1945, 338pp.) notes as Mexicanisms more than 225 terms, which he defines. He also gives the locality in which the term is used and the word's use is sometimes illustrated with quotations. He includes terms in use in other Spanish speaking countries of the New World. He is also the author of:

33. "Vocabulario hípico del charro de México," in El charro mexicano (México, 1939), pp. 274-292.

34. José L. Lepe, in his introduction to the Diccionario de asuntos hípicos y ecuestres (México, 1951, 297pp.), notes that "los charros, militares, civiles o jinetes del campo, encontrarán en él las definiciones de todas aquellas palabras, términos y

conceptos que al andar entre caballeros y caballos, se usan: definidas, razonadas y explicadas claramente y apegadas en todo a la verdad y a la realidad de los hechos." Most of the terms listed are used in Mexico.

35. Leovigildo Islas Escarcega, Vocabulario campesino nacional (México, 1945, XXIV, 287pp.) attempts (1) to correct and add to the data presented in the Vocabulario agrícola nacional (Nichols 979); and (2) to supplement the Vocabulario. Terms are defined; etymologies given for those of indigenous origin; the region in which the word is used is often given and proverbial use is sometimes noted.

Only two studies on the vocabulary of individual authors have reached the writer's attention.

36. Elbert Daymond Turner, The Vocabulary of Bernal Díaz del Castillo's Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España (University of North Carolina, 1949, XXVIII, 619 leaves). It is "an attempt to measure the vocabulary of a conquistador of the Spanish Renaissance and to determine the effect of American residence and environment upon such vocabulary..." Excluding proper nouns and some numerical adjectives, 4,331 words are listed together with their variant spellings, their modern Spanish forms, parts of speech, and at least one example of context to show Díaz' use of the words. No definitions are given. The total number of Americanisms is 93, or less than three percent of the whole.

37. Elizabeth H. Miller, "La Rumba de Ángel de Campo y su valor literario" (México, 1953, 89pp.) notes that "el lenguaje de Ángel de Campo en La Rumba es extremadamente variado, rico y heterogéneo, y como escribe para el pueblo, hay una profusión de vocablos de estirpe popular." Pages 26-33 are concerned almost entirely with Mexicanisms of native, French, and English origin as well as with Spanish words whose meanings have been modified.

The compiler knows of no dictionary devoted exclusively to Mexican slang. This appears to be a fertile field for scholarly research. Several Mexican studies have appeared in the Anuario de la Sociedad Folklórica de México (ASFM); while in the United States Hispania has published several short notes on Mexican slang.

38. Benjamin A. Martínez, Jerga carcelaria 'Caló' (México, 1930, 19pp) is omitted from the Nichols bibliography. It is composed of two parts. The introduction, "Cómo llegar a conocer el Caló", is a brief note on the usefulness of a knowledge of criminal slang and of methods used to collect it. Pages 4-17 list and define more than 300 examples of words and expressions from the language of criminals.

39. \*L. O. Wright and S. L. Robe, "A Linguistic Study of some Mexican Comics," Modern Language Forum, XXIV (1939), 32-4; and

40. \*Gabriel Cházaro, "Bellezas y minucias del lenguaje popular," ASFM, III (1943), 115-22, may be of use in studying phases of Mexican slang.

41. Alfredo M. Saavedra, "El 'caló' de la delincuencia y la expresión sexual," ASFM, II (1941), 23-28, contains two vocabulary lists: (1) vocabulario del medio delictivo, pp. 26-30, and (2) vocabulario sexual, pp. 34-36, which should be of more interest to the student of human psychology than to the linguist.

42. Alfredo M. Saavedra, "La expresión folklórica militar," ASFM, II (1941), 207-223, defines on pp. 209-216 153 Mexican military words and expressions. The author notes that 60 percent of these terms are of Castilian origin, 30 percent are Mexicanisms, and 10 percent are barbarisms.

43. Renato Rosaldo, "A List of Slang and Colloquial Expressions of Mexico City," Hispania, XXXI (1948), 437-445; and the same author's

44. "El léxico como reflejo de la psicología del mexicano," Hispania, XXXVI (1953), 67-70, will be found useful. The last named article defines lexicographical examples, chiefly from slang, "que embozan ciertas características del mexicano."

The following are the most important of the place-name studies that have appeared since 1940:

45. José Ignacio Dávila Garibi, Toponimías nahuas: normas para la interpretación de toponímicos de origen nahuatl y análisis etimológicos de ellos (México, 1942, 251).

46. José Ignacio Dávila Garibi, La toponimia mexicana en boca de nuestros pregones, copleros, cancioneros y otros ingenios populares (México, 1946, 121 pp.; reprinted from ASFM, VI (1947), 47-81).

47. José Ignacio Dávila Garibi, \*Cosas del terruño. Aportación mínima al estudio del folklore toponímico de Jalisco (México, 1946, 48pp.)

48. Joseph Raymond, "'Water' in Mexican place names," The Americas, IX (1952), 201-5.

49. Joseph Raymond, "The Indian Mind in Mexican Toponyms," América indígena, XII (1952), 205-16.

50. \*J. de la Fuente, "Notas sobre lugares de Oaxaca, con especial referencia a la toponimia zapoteca," Anales del Instituto nacional de antropología, II (1941-6), 279-301.

51. J. R. Benítez, "Toponimia indígena de la ciudad de México," Actas del XXVII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, II (1947), 511-554.

52. \*Ignacio Manuel del Castillo, "Toponímicos nahuatl del estado de Michoacán," in Universidad Michoacana, no. 17 (March 1940).

53. \*Lawrence Ecker, "Testimonio Otomí sobre la etimología de México y Coyoacán," in El México antiguo, V, no. 6 (December 1940); reprinted in Dávila Garibi's Toponimias nahuas, pp. 235-7.

Alfredo Barrera Vásquez is the author of several studies on the Mayan influence on the Spanish in Yucatan. Among these are:

54. "Vocabulario de mayismos y voces mayas en el español de Yucatán," Orbe, no. 6, 17-20; no. 6, 11-14; no. 7, 18-21; no. 8, 14-17; no. 9, 18-21; no. 10, 8-15 (August 15, 1942 to January 15, 1943; \*no. 4, pp. 16-23 evidently begins the alphabet, which is concluded in \*no. 11). More than 200 Mayan loan-words are discussed and defined. Previously suggested etymologies, especially those of Ramos y Duarte, are corrected and amplified.

55. "Vocabulario...de Yucatán," Yikal Maya Than (YMT), IV, nos. 47-52 (1943), 187-188, 204, 211-2, 220-223, 237-238, 259, 260, 269-271, 287, 295-7, 304-6, 319, 325-330, 332-5.

56. "La lengua maya y su influencia en el español de Yucatán," \*Orbe, no. 3 (June 15, 1942) and YMT, IV (1943), no. 44, 79, 92-95; should all be studied in conjunction with other articles by the same author listed in Nichols (see especially entry 992).

57. \*Antonio Mediz Bolio, \*Interinfluencia del maya con el español de Yucatán (Mérida, 1951, 46pp.) (also published in YMT, XII (1951), nos. 146-148, pp. 153-4, 156-61, 167-8, 171-4) is an outstanding study on the mutual influences of Mayan and Spanish.

Few etymological studies have appeared. American notes and queries II (1942) published six notes entitled "Origin of guarache." These are:

58. Carleton Beals, p. 7;

59. Cabot Briggs and Henry W. Yocom, pp. 44-45;

60. U. T. Holmes, pp. 58-59;

61. R. S. Boggs, p. 74;

62. R. H. Barlow, p. 108;

63. José I. Dávila Garibi, "Algunas disquisiciones acerca del vocablo tapatío," Filosofía y letras, VI (1943), 91-110, is concerned with the different meanings of tapatío. Numerous illustrations are given to show the word's use in tradition, history, music, folklore, and linguistics; the author gives considerable attention to an analysis of and quotations from previous studies.



64. L. B. Kiddle, "The Spanish word jícara. A word-history." Philological and Documentary Studies of the Middle American Research Institute (Publication no. 11 (1944), 115-54) is an extremely well-documented and scholarly study of both the word and thing. The word is derived from the Nahuatl or Aztec xicalli. It has been reviewed by P. Henríquez Ureña, Revista de filología hispánica, VII (1945), 288-90, and by T. A. Sebeok, International Journal of American Linguistics, XIII (1947), 277.

65. \*A. Barrera Vásquez, "Apesgar: un caso de convergencia lingüístico," Revista social for December 1943, p. 33, is commented upon in

66. Y. Malkiel, "On Analyzing Hispano-Maya Blends," International Journal of American Linguistics, XIV (1948), 74-6. Both of these discuss acechar and apesgar.

67. Arrigo Coen Anitua, El lenguaje que Vd. habla: filología efímera (Mexico, 1948, 402pp.) is written from the purist standpoint and somewhat along the approach of picturesque word origins. These notes were first published serially in a Mexico City newspaper column as "vocablos y voquibles."

Two other lexicographical studies may be mentioned, even though they do not easily fit into any of the above categories.

68. Alberto María Carreño, Cuestiones filológicas, vol. XI Colección de obras diversas (México, 1940) contains "Cubanisms y mexicanismos," pp. 93-147. This study first appeared as "El habla popular de México," Revista de la Facultad de Letras y Ciencias, XXIII (1916), no. 1, 13-41.

69. Margit Frenk Alatorre, "Designaciones de rasgos físicos personales en el habla de la ciudad de México," Nueva revista de filología hispánica, VII (1953), 134-156, is a collection of several hundred words used to describe (1) características corporales and (2) vestido y presentación. "Hasta donde ha sido posible, hemos precisado el matiz afectivo de los términos ...y el grado de su divulgación" (p. 134).

Much remains to be studied in the field of Mexican Spanish. General dialect studies are needed for almost all of the Mexican states. More research is needed on the influence of the native Indian dialects and languages on regional Mexican Spanish. There are still many phases of the language that can be studied descriptively. The excellent study by Murphy might be followed by studies on the role of suffixes in adjectives and adverbs. No descriptive studies yet exist on the verb, the different grammatical categories, the adjective, the pronoun, or the different types of function words and their uses, as the Seltzer thesis does little more than show the development from inflection to a system of function words.



Numerous dictionaries and glossaries are needed. These could be of individual regions, occupations or authors. When many more of these are completed, we can look forward to a Dictionary of Mexican Spanish or to a Dictionary of Mexicanisms on historical principles. The study of loan words in Mexican Spanish from European languages, especially English and French, appears to be still almost non-existent.

It is to be hoped that the study of Mexican Spanish will continue to attract students of linguistics in the United States and Mexico and that it will also interest students in Spain and Europe.

NOTE

\* Indicates material not seen.

